/131 cont./

would take exaggerated care of them by removing them on occasions when even for children it would not be necessary.

In the first Bakairi village the population had increased by one young soul. Peahoga had become a father and was observing the lying-in period along with his wife. I shall come back to the scene, which seemed comical to us, in discussing the couvade. The maize was a succulent green; we were offered excellent, somewhat dry maize beiju. My tobacco planting on village plaza had shot up tremendously and was fenced in all around by a palisade.

Fig. 8.
Indians disguised as Europeans.

But what did our astonished eyes catch sight of behind Paleko's house? A new construction, already far advanced, of a strange kind. Or rather, one of very familiar appearance. The Bakairi had taken our ranche at Independencia as a model and, instead of their beehive, had erected a house with a triangular gable /132/ and a two-sided roof. We had believed we were seeing something genuine in a remote corner, and already it was disappearing. "The first glimpse of light," says Bettina, "will also be the last."

Tunayana, who was going along to Independencia, nevertheless carried out the official farewell in Maigbi. He handed me two large gourd bowls. A little while after that he came to fetch me, seized me vehemently by the arm, and, shouting loudly all around, led me from the hut to the beam in the middle of the plaza and, with a sort of enthusiasm, pushed me down on to the seat. Soon four Kaxuiben were sitting there in a row, side by side.

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One of the women in the Paywantings village was called maddis + tuyuf mark. The names of the men were usually obtained without difficulty; sometimes there was a little reluctance and it was preferred that a friend give the information. One Bahabf allegedly had no name because his parents had died early. From the women on the Kalimeha I always received only the answer, "I am a woman"; however, I neglected to ask a third person. I have described the custom of exchanging names, cf. pages 115 and 122. It explains why the Indians make so little fuss about submitting to Christian baptism. To them it means simply a ceremony by means of which they lose their old name.

Birth and couvade. Abortions are said to take place frequently. The women are afraid of childbirth. Among the Bahabf they make a tea from the root of a campo tree called pewoinha. Probably there are also mechanical procedures. The woman given birth in a kneeling position on the floor, hanging on to a post. The hammock is not supposed to be soiled. Women who demonstrated this to us in pantomime and who knew about it from experience stated emphatically that the pains were great. They soon get up, however, and go to work, and the man goes through the well-known couvade, the male lying-in, during which he adheres to a strict diet, does not touch weapons, and spends most of his time in the hammock. On our return we saw such a couvade in Maigbi in Faleiro's house. An actual lying-in room had been /325/ set up by stretching two man-high walls of hanging burnt leaves from one of the main posts to the outer wall. In this way a three-cornered segment was closed off. I was gladly allowed to enter so that I could give the child heads. Inside there were stretched four hammocks, delivering two women with babies and two men. A strong odor of pitá, coming from rubbings, filled the room. The babies were kuriya, ill, weak, the parents complained. The fathers and mothers were constantly occupied with blowing on them, and, to be sure, with hollow-sounding noises with the mouth nearly closed, which was hardly interrupted for a moment throughout the following night. The husbands left the house only to relieve themselves, they lived exclusively on thin pogo, mandioca cakes crumbled in water.

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Everything else would be harmful for the child; it would be exactly as though the child itself were eating meat, fish, or fruit.

Now nothing is more obvious than to connect the remarkable custom, which is beneficial to the women, with the hunting life; the man should stay near the wife and child during the difficult hours and the first days and should not roam about outside, there was no better means for this than to put him on a diet. And, no matter how the custom originated, it is clear that it afforded this advantage, and it is at least quite understandable that the women were in favor of it, and it became firmly established. On the modern Paressarigs, however, where it is being neglected, the women are discontented, not because they suffer under it, but because the children do. Even though it benefited the women, that is no reason why the men would have submitted to it. And yet the men do submit to it so generally and with such conviction that one realizes that a deeply rooted, ancient element of popular belief is involved. It is very doubtful whether there is any Indian tribe in Brazil which has not practiced it. One must, if possible, investigate the institution among tribes that were found in undisturbed conditions and have not simply preserved the remnants of old institutions. The Island Caraiben /Island Carib/ usually did not eat or drink anything during the first five days, limited themselves in the following four to a drink made out of cooked manihoca, and then ate more abundantly, but abstained from a few kinds of meat for several months more. "It is not likely," says the excellent Father Breton, "that the husband also screams like the wife in labor, on the contrary, I saw them coming from outside secretively and in a furtive manner one month after the birth, in order to keep their fast in seclusion." They are contemptuous of those who do not observe the custom; they say they feel better during it and grow older, and they believe that if they omit the custom their illnesses caused by superfluous juices would be passed on to their children.

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[171] [344] Among the Indians the father takes care of the child, the woman returns to work. That the father lies in the hammock a great deal understandable in view of the lack of nourishment and further more fact that he stays at home. /336/ When does the couvade start and when does it end? The father cuts the umbilical cord of the newborn child, feeds specially, cares for the child, it is a free man once more when the remainder of the umbilical cord drops off. Among the Bakairi he cuts the umbilicus of boys with kambeyuva reed, of girls with takuara bamboo.

Let us compare with this the note by Martius about the Pandis /Peru/, whereon customs may be recognized particularly closely as medical with the young woman at the onset of the menses lasts for a mth, the woman in confinement remains in the dark for a month al, "like the husband, is restricted to a diet of manihoca, bel, and flour soup. The husband colors himself black and remains in the hammock during the entire period of fasting or ul the dried umbilical cord of the baby drops off (six to eighteen). He himself usually cuts the umbilical cord with the teeth or sharp stones, if he has no knife." Especially important, however, is a manuscript by the jesuit Fernão Cardim of 1584 and preserved for us in the monastery library of Evora, the capital of a Portuguese province of Alemtejo,"

[173] "Do principio e origem dos Indios do Brasil /The Beginning and Origin of the Indians of Brazil/,in de Janeiro, 1881.

which contains many subtle observations. "The women give birth on the ground, by do not pick up the child, but rather the father picks it up - some person whom they take as sponsor and with whom they remain friendship, like the godfather among the Christians.he father cuts the umbilical cord with the teeth or with two nuts, one above the other, and immediately thereafter he believes to fast until the navel drops off, which usually takes six eight days, and until it drops off they

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do not cease fasting, and when it drops off, if it is a boy, he makes a bow with arrows and fastens it to the bundle of ropes of the hammock and on the other bundle of ropes he fastens many bunches of herbs, which are the foes that his son is to kill and devour, and after these ceremonies are over, they make wine which they all enjoy."

According to these valuable statements, which correspond exactly with those on the Bakairi /Kuyu/, one might call the father the attending physician, who perhaps also has like the apprentice medicine man, and who, if he behaved differently, might endanger his cure and harm the child. Not only the Bakairi people, however, but many other tribes say that the father may not eat fish, meat, and fruits because it would be the same as though the child ate them, and there is no reason why one should not believe that the natives believe this. It is also said that the medicine man of the village is always available and that he is summoned in all other cases when mother or child becomes ill.

The father is a patient nurse as he shoulders himself with the newborn child. It is, after all, not really so difficult to understand how he happens to do this. /327/ The native cannot very well know anything about the human egg-cell and the Graafian follicle; he cannot know that the mother harbors a structure corresponding to the eggs of birds. For him the man is the carrier of the egg, which he, to put it succinctly and clearly, implants the mother and which the latter hatches out during pregnancy. Consider Plates 16 and 17 /see pp. 385-386/ where the Indians have drawn the male eggs. Where the linguistic material is adequate, we see immediately how this commonly natural attempt to explain conception is also manifest in the words for father, testicles, and egg. In Guaraní tab means father, spawn, egg, tyyá means egg, and "tay-i" small, the name of the tribe, with the addition of -i, "little," is merely little fathers or eggs or children, as one wishes, the father is egg and the child is the little father. The language itself says that the child is nothing but the father. Among the Tupí it was also the custom that the father, after the birth of each new son,

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such a new name. In order to explain this, it is by no means necessary to assume that the "soul" of the father entered into the son each time. It is exactly the same in the Karaiben. imu is egg or testicles or father or child, the latter among several tribes already differentiated phonetically:

Iporutuma /Purutuma/ imu "egg," Bakairi "testicles," Tamanako "father," Maiuruna /Maiuruna/ imum "seed." With the pronominal suffix -ru, we find imu-ru, "child," among various tribes: Kamaiurá /Camaiurá/ umo "my father," amo "your father," Nahuquá umí-ru "my child," amí-ru "your child." Naturally, it comes about everywhere that qualifying additions are supplied or words originally identical deviate from one another phonetically, with the connection forgotten. Thus, Kamayurá has ye-cup "my father," upú "egg," ye-cupú "my testicles". Aweti has i-tupú "my testicles," a-upú "his eggs", the lingua geral has cayyú "testicles," cupú "egg." Among the Bakairi "child" and "little" are indri, "the child of the chief" yíno indri, we may translate it as either "the child of the chief" or "the little chief" as we with and do not realize in connection with the latter term, which we might apply jokingly to the son, that for the Indian the child is really only the little chief himself, a small edition of the big one. For our feeling, too, this conception is strange and scarcely comprehensible in the case where a girl is involved. But even the girl is the little father and not the little mother. she is made only by the father. In Bakairi there are no special words for "son" and "daughter," but rather, if the distinction is required the sex is added. "yíno indri" may mean the daughter as well as the son of the chief. The only daughter of the chief is the heiress of the property and rank, both of which, along with her own property, go to her husband.

The little father comes into the world, the umbilical cord is cut, the big father lays at least until the wound is healed, and with this the new little human being may be regarded as an independent being. The father would surely not observe any precautionary measures if the little one immediately /338/ sat about as healthy as a little chick, but it bleeds and is in danger since it

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is not even ruled out. The thing is not so strange if the mother is thought of as merely an incubator. Even during the pregnancy (see Fiore, Das Kind /The Child/, II, Ch. 7) the father fasts frequently and avoids heavy work, so as not to harm the child. After birth, however, at least until the moment when the remainder of the umbilical cord drops off, he still feels in actual "connection" with the child, and at least during the days when the life of the little father seems obviously in danger, a diet must be observed and nothing eaten that does not agree with the one part. Nor is it by any means absolutely necessary that the confinement take place in the presence of the father in order to force him to fast, and hence the need for his presence cannot be the ultimate reason for the custom. As was quoted, the Island Kanaiken observed their comrade even a month later. Among the Ipurina on the Purus the woman, assisted by a few older women, gives birth in a forest hut and remains only "four or five days later" to her husband, who only now may see the child and who was obliged to adhere to a strict diet during this time." For an entire year yet the husband may not eat either pig or tapir meat. Ehrenreich, who reports this, adds: "a real 'man's childbed' is not customary." Well, but probably not only mother as the father need not lie in the hammock, which, even though it is not merely a secondary phenomenon, is in any case one of least important prescriptions of the treatment. Even the Indian knows that improper nourishment is fair of all harmful for the child, and therefore the most important thing is to follow a diet. Everything else is more or less only an accessory. Finally, the behavior of the husband is decisive. The mother gives birth in the forest, and the father, who is never present, not only fasts, but, if the child is sick, also takes the medicine that is handed to him for the child, as we learned from the druggist of the Brazilian military colony, who was greatly surprised over this.

While the procedure for the father is the same in all the tribes, the conduct of the mother may be very different, depending on whether she is regarded as more or less ailing. She goes back to her duties again earlier as the both strong enough and makes the child, but then suffers. There is no mysterious correspondence

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between father and child, the child is a duplication of him, the father has become double, and, for the sake of the helpless, irrational creature which represents a miniature edition of himself, he must himself behave like a child who must not come to harm. Supposing that the child dies during the first days, how could the father who is filled with such ideas and who has seen indigestible things doubt that he himself is at fault, especially since all sickness arises through the fault of another? What we call "pars pro toto" dominates popular belief everywhere with respect to sorcery or healing magic, although I do not believe that the sorcerer /336/ has a clear image of a "part" with which he is working. The "convade" is carried out according to the same logic, except that here is a case where the whole intercedes for the "part." It is all the same whether I poison the hair of the enemy and thereby cause him to waste away, or whether, to the detriment of the child which has become detached from me, I eat food that it might not tolerate at all or at least not during the days when the separation takes place.

Burial. All the tribes of the Kulinelu bury their dead, the body lies in west-east in such a way that the head looks toward the rising sun. (According to the statements of the Kamayurá, the Suyá bury their dead in a squatting position, the head with the feather ornaments bent back and the eyes turned toward the setting sun.) The grave is on the village place. Among the Nafuquá we saw in front of the festival hut a heap of brush under which, at a shallow depth, the grave pit was said to be located, for beetles were crawling out of holes in the ground and the place was alive with flies. Among the Auetö a square in front of the festival hut was staked off with thick, low posts constructed by plaiting. It is photographed on Plate 15 /see p. 253/. I do not know whether it is a coincidence that the two diagonal sides of the square resemble the characteristic shape of the headpiece of the throwing board. Among the Yaulapiti we saw a square grave fence.

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600 danger that surrounded them. Pregnancy, enkan, was
193 recognized by the cessation of the menstrual periods. When
202 the abdomen of the pregnant woman began to attain visible
proportions, a diet based on vegetal foods and fish was initiated.
944 As the time of delivery drew near, a separate section was
[784] built inside the house; the parturient was segregated and re-
mained unki. Female relatives helped in the delivery under
the direction of an experienced woman. The parturient gave
[895] birth sitting on her heels. In difficult cases they washed her
abdomen and sides with a hot infusion of cotton leaves. The
umbilical cord was cut by the parturient herself or by her hus-
band, and it was buried along with the placenta outside the
949 house. After the birth, eraeli, the child was washed and
754 handed over to the parents; later it would be given the name
[355] of some dead relative. During the birth and for some time
afterward, the child and its parents remained in a state of
unki. The end of the seclusion was signaled by the first
946 menstrual period of the parturient, and it was marked by a
776 feast called tolounito. The reinsertion of the parents and the
789 child in the bosom of the community was accomplished by
means of a feast called tabiouli.

When children reached puberty they were secluded,
unki, for a period of several months. They could not come
out in daylight, and they were fed and looked after by their
[356] relatives. It was believed that the greater or lesser duration
of the young people's unki period would lead to their better
[622] or worse physical constitution. On the other hand, a chief's
son had to remain in seclusion longer than usual. The period
911 of seclusion began for boys with the ritual of the perforation of
304 the ears (usually undergone in groups). Girls had their ears
784 perforated immediately after birth, and their seclusion was
marked by the advent of the first menses. The end of the unki
784 state was also celebrated with the tolounito. The girls then
911 began to wear shuri, that is to say, triangular genital coverings
776 about 7 [illegible] square made of bua bark.
80
291

with a bamboo sliver. The placenta was wrapped in a piece of cotton cloth and buried because it was believed that if it were picked at by birds it would cause sickness and misfortune to the mother and child. The child was then washed, wrapped, and given to the mother. Later it was given the name of one of its ancestors.

During the seclusion period the mother and child were believed to be in a state of ritual danger (sasak). They were not permitted to go out in daylight and had to be fed and cared for by the female relatives. The first menses released the mother and child from seclusion, this release being known as tadawalo. Shortly afterward the father invited the villagers to a ceremony (dalisod) during which the sabigabo and tadiwan lyres were played and only the women danced. By means of this ceremony the mother was reintegrated into the life of the family and the village.

After 3 years of age both boys and girls began to copy their elders, the boys playing with bows and arrows and the girls with spindles. By the time the boys and girls reached puberty they knew how to perform most adult activities.

PUBERTY RITES

When the girls had their first menses and the boys reached the age of 13 or 14, they had to go into seclusion (pangalos) for a period of 2 months to a year. It was believed that the longer the young people stayed in seclusion the stronger they would become physically. The longer periods of seclusion were also believed to enhance the prestige of the family. The boys and girls were not permitted to come out in daylight, and were fed and cared for by their parents. While the boys and girls were in seclusion they made pots and baskets for family use.

With boys the seclusion was inaugurated by an ear-piercing ceremony. A number of men with ears of about the same age would perform this rite collectively before invited guests. After eating and drinking, the peinado song and dance were performed. The boys were now in a state of sabak, ritual danger, and were secluded immediately after this rite. The girls' ears were pierced when they were babies, but the ear piercing of the boys corresponded to the period of the first menses of the girls.

dance was given at night accompanied by flute playing.

When a woman came out of seclusion after the birth of a child the women of the village danced to the tunes of the maidens and unbidden flutes.

ORIGIN MYTHS

Although the Zuñi have many myths, only two were obtained. One of these is the *pemaliⁿ*, or the origin of day. In the beginning it was so dark and cold in the world that the people had to cover their bodies with grease to keep warm. The people wanted the sun to come out, so they put on their ornaments and painted their bodies and began to pray to *crinalo*, the great spirit who lived in the north. The Zuñi believed that *crinalo* was not an Indian but just a man who lived in a stone house with some of the animals which he had created. The people continued praying to *crinalo* and when light finally came the people were old and the children had grown up.

Tsestihanikⁱkⁱe, or "those who died in the fire," is a story which tells about the origin of cultivated plants and the *yamuⁿtsiⁿ*, or corn dance. Once long ago there were a number of boys who were in puberty seclusion. At that time there were no cultivated plants, the people living by hunting and collecting wild plant foods. The boys were kept in seclusion so long and had so little to eat that they became very tired. One day when the relatives of the boys went out to collect food the boys all committed suicide. When the relatives returned and found the boys dead they were sorry and angry with themselves for neglecting them. They built a large fire and after dancing around the fire naked they jumped into the flames and were burned to death. The leader of this act was *pautik*. Later the soul of *pautik* returned and spoke through one of the living Indians. He explained to the Indians how to grow corn and other food crops and how to perform the corn dance. After that the corn dance (*yamuⁿtsiⁿ*) has always been performed.

As the Zuñi formerly lived in association with the other Upper Keres tribes, it is perhaps useful to compare their following origin myths as mentioned by Van den Steinen with those of the Cochiti. There appears to be a close resemblance between *Kawaⁿtsiⁿ* of the Zuñi and